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defects, but he does not blink the fact that there are defects. Here is a side of the case which is usually kept dark or toned down.

"How would you like to live in a State where the people can and do amend their constitution in the most radical fashion by a minority vote; where one-third of the voters decides the fate of laws affecting the other two-thirds; where one-twentieth of the voters can and do cripple the state educational institutions by holding up their funds; where special interests hire citizens to circulate petitions asking for the recall of judges who have found them guilty; where men representing themselves as the people, buy signatures with drinks, forge dead men's names, practice blackmail by buying and selling at so much per name, signatures for petitions needed to refer certain measures to the people; a State where the demagogue thrives and the energetic crank with money, through the initiative and referendum, can legislate to his heart's content."

In view of such possibilities it is easy to understand why the English Liberal party opposes the introduction of the referendum as an institution likely to substitute class control for Democratic rule. And yet as compared with the conditions previously existing in Oregon present conditions are held to be an improvement. Mr. Eaton's treatise is well calculated to enforce the truth that institutions are purely instrumental in their nature and that their value is contingent upon circumstances.

HENRY JONES FORD.

Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America.

Edited with an Introduction by Sir C. P. LUCAS. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1912. 3 vols. Pp. 335, 339, 380.)

It is a fortunate and singularly appropriate circumstance that the first head of the Dominion Department of the Colonial Office should have undertaken the task of bringing out an authoritative edition of the momentous state paper to which the colonies are chiefly indebted for the subsequent grant of self-government.

The introductory volume furnishes us at the outset, with a brief sketch of Lord Durham's work and character together with a rapid but illuminating survey of political conditions in England at the accession of Queen Victoria.

The author's treatment of the origin and development of the spirit of discontent in the Canadas is much less satisfactory. The narrative contains little that is new or striking. The point of view is that of a high minded imperial official of liberal principles but conservative judgment.

Sir Charles seems strangely unfamiliar with the brilliant and sympathetic study of this period by Adam Shortt in his life of Lord Sydenham. It was indeed the refinement of cruelty to concede to the French Canadians the semblance of nationality and to the people of Upper Canada the form of representative institutions and yet to deny to them the means of self-expression and self-government. Such a mistaken policy could have but one result, rebellion.

The analysis and criticism of the *Report* is an excellent piece of work. Full of credit is given to the courage and clearness of vision, amounting almost to genius, with which his Lordship set forth his proposals for the settlement of the complex racial, economic and political problems of the country. The author's criticism of these proposals are keen and comprehensive. There is perhaps a tendency at times, as for example in respect to the formation of a federal union, to judge his Lordship's recommendations overcritically from the vantage ground of present day knowledge of the course of events rather than from the standpoint of the facts and conditions as they presented themselves to Lord Durham. But Sir Charles has not failed to point out most clearly the serious limitations of the *Report* and the occasional errors into which his Lordship has fallen in such matters as the development of the Wakefield land policy and the proposed anglicification of the French Canadians.

The *Report*, it may be added, is open to more general criticism in respect to its cardinal principle of responsible government. Lord Durham failed to explain the mode in which he expected to set up a system of government prior to the anglicification of the habitants and their conversion into faithful British subjects. His Lordship's recommendation in fact was based upon two doubtful assumptions, the loyalty and assimilability of the French Canadians and the willingness of the Upper Canada Reformers to join with the Family Compact for the maintenance of the supremacy of English laws and institutions, both of which assumptions were called in question by the Tory party.

Equally valuable is the author's discussion of the question of the applicability of the principles of the *Report* to imperial problems of today. The crown colonies are declared to stand outside the purpose of the *Report* since they are manifestly unsuited for self-government. In the self-governing colonies conditions have fundamentally changed since 1839. The new Dominions are no longer satisfied with the status of dependence which Lord Durham assigned to them. They are demanding the consummation of colonial autonomy in an acknowledgement of their status as equal and independent members of the Empire.

The volume closes with an extraneous reference to the question of home rule for Ireland. If the author felt it necessary to drag in a comparison of conditions in Ireland with those in Canada, it would certainly have been fairer to have based that comparison on the existing status of Quebec as a member of the Canadian Confederation rather than upon the former ill mated arrangements under the constitutional act and the act of union.

The second volume is devoted to the text of the *Report*, the value of which has been greatly enhanced by the author's scholarly notes. It is a striking commentary on the fortuitous character of English policy that this great document should have been buried for so many years among the governmental publications until resurrected by a London publisher to serve as a text for the discussion of Lord Milner's policy in South Africa.

The *Report* is something more than an incident in Canadian history. It marks a new era in English colonial policy. It partakes somewhat of the character of the Magna Charta and of the Federalist: it is at once the charter of Canadian freedom and an able exposition of the principles of colonial administration. It made the Empire possible and made it free.

In the concluding volume Sir Charles has rescued from the dark pages of the Blue Books the more important portions of the Appendixes to the *Report*; to which has been added "The Sketch of Lord Durham's Mission to Canada" now for the first time published in full.

Lord Durham has at last come into his own. In these three volumes is to be found the most fitting memorial to the founder of the school of Liberal imperialists.

C. D. ALLIN.

Der Staatenverband der Haager Konferenzen. By WALTER SCHÜCKING. (München und Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1912. Pp. xii, 328.)

The main thesis of this volume is that, if not *expressis verbis*, yet *ipso facto* a World Confederacy was established by the first Hague Conference in 1899. Previous to this time the international community had a "purely anarchical character" (as Jellinek describes it), but the epoch of disorganization is now slowly and gradually giving way to a period of international or world organization. The main purpose of this organization is the maintenance of a general peace.

"On the road from Utopia to scientific knowledge which the modern